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Translated by: Namir A. Mudhaffer

REVOLUTION AND NATIONAL EDUCATION

Brothers (including those present in this place) who represent the various specializations must perform their duties towards their country and nation in a manner and in a spirit that are quite exceptional in character. The performance of duty must not fall within the old, traditional, functional framework; it must be viewed on the basis of its being a national exigency that has to be carried out far from backward considerations and standpoints that have been inherited from the dark regimes. These very considerations and standpoints constituted the basic cause of our country's backwardness and its delay both in catching up with the progress of work and in the correct fulfilment of its national and pan-Arab message.

None of you, Brothers, has been chosen on the basis of his being a stereotyped government civil servant in the strict, traditional sense of the word. We have basically chosen each of you in strict conformity with the principles

* The text of Comrade Saddam Hussein's speech delivered at the First Session of the Committees for the Study of Educational Affairs with a View to Amending Curricula, held on 13 November 1973.

and values of our new concept of citizenship — a concept that has a vital role in contributing towards constructing the State within a responsible framework as necessitated by the terms, and the correct functions, of citizenship. Thus, in order to perform your duties correctly, you must be precisely aware of our central concepts, both ideological and political. It is in accordance with these central concepts that you are to undertake the duty of reconsidering the curricula in accordance with the method of the Revolution. Accordingly, you have to start from an essential principle in the field of bringing up a generation and building a society: you have to consider man as an important value and a major objective within the community; and you have to consider providing the necessary requirements for his happiness, which include preparing the right climate for the emergence of his creative potentials. In saying that we consider man to be an important value and major objective, we do not mean him to be isolated — whether in movement, work or in group solidarity — from the community. As a matter of fact we look at man, both as a value and an objective, within the progress and development of the community, and on the basis of the solidarity of man with both the community and the values of collective work.

We also have to emphasize, in each branch of our curricula, another essential point — namely, that man, being considered the main object behind the work undertaken to develop the community, must be a potent force in his community and nation. At the same time, we have to realize that the homeland is for all, and that the right of its sons to live on it is an unshakable fact and one that represents part of your central interests. We must also appreciate that, while living within the bounds of the homeland is considered one of the rights of citizens, it requires, at the same

time, the performance of duties towards it. We have to emphasize, moreover, that this community is led by a Party; that this Party leads the community not only in accordance with its own values, organization and ideology but also in accordance with its own policies; and that it leads the community on the level of the State as well as on the level of popular democratic activities. Thus it is necessary for the Party's principles and values to play a considerable role in these activities and in the State's decisions too — a role that must be commensurate with the effective, essential and practical role played by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party in the existing community and in the future, not forgetting, of course, the role of the Party in bringing about the Revolution.

Nor must we neglect to emphasize the fact that a citizen has both rights and duties; that national obligations, and the new concepts for building up our community, require us to strike a precise balance between such rights and duties; and that we should avoid being inclined to favour duties at the expense of rights and vice versa. However, should circumstances require, at any particular stage, the favouring of one at the expense of the other, then such a case must be strictly taken to mean a temporary, and not a permanent, expedient. The basic norm dictates the existence of a precise balance between the right of a citizen and his duties; and it also dictates the presence of a potent connection, in the issue of rights and duties, between being a citizen in the community and the values of collective work on the one hand, and his role within the community and the encumbent rights he has on state institutions and on the community on the other hand.

Furthermore, we have to pay particular attention to the values of democratic work; to the democratic relationship

between superior and subordinate, between pupil and teacher, between the teacher within the community and his being within his school environments, and between the individual citizen within the community and his relations with the state institutions. Nor must we forget in this respect the values of democratic relations among the state institutions themselves.

Some of you may think that our meeting and discussions should fall within the scope of kindergarten, school and university education and nothing else. To them I say that the process of building up a society must proceed in a balanced manner, since we cannot succeed in preparing a generation capable of furthering new duties simply through the medium of scholastic curricula. We must appreciate that the conduct of a teacher within the school has its role in the overall picture of the development of a community; and that the relationship between a pupil and his family, between civil servants and economic construction also have their role in the development of the community through the curricula. Let me say, by way of comparison, that we cannot build a modern way along the classical lines of building professional armies. These armies used to be built by methods that had a direct relationship with the stages of time during which the actual construction took place; they were either composed mainly of men that had been drafted from among the sons of occupied territories or else their composition used to depend on some form of mercenary basis or another. Some of them were, nevertheless, armies of the first order. Modern armies nowadays, however, must be composed of men who really believe that they are fighting for a just cause. This is an essential prerequisite and one that has to be fulfilled if they are required to be courageous fighting units. We must bear in

mind that society has undergone a development; so have the values of relationships within a society; and the same has happened to international relations. Thus a soldier who does not find himself fighting for a just cause cannot perform well in battle.

We have to concentrate on our Arab-Islamic history and give it clear and significant attention. We must remember that Islamic history is in essence the history of the Arabs, in addition to the role of the Islamic message and its orientations. This history represents a shining aspect of Arab civilization. Therefore, we have to give this history our interest and attention. In fact we have to do more than that: we have to write it in a manner that is consistent with this very concept; and we have to avoid distorting its events only so that we can present them in accordance with what we would like to present, irrespective of authenticity. What is meant by this is that we should bring out from this history all the values that are fully consistent with the character of the new set-up, with the message of our nation and with the national role of our Iraqi people. Thus, when we discuss our Arab-Islamic history, we must avoid using the method by which some people have tried to illustrate the causes for the great Islamic conquests as being efforts that were exerted to encourage the Islamic fighters to fight for booty — for only thus, according to such people, was it hoped that these figures would perform well in battle. Thus, writing the same history in a manner whereby such values are weakened and whereby events are so coloured that false concepts replace the values of belief.

On the other hand, when secessionist movements and conflicts in Islam are discussed, we must consider carefully all the prospects that would help us to avoid invoking sectarianism within the community; to weaken the roots of

sectarian tendencies; and to undermine all foreign and imperialist endeavours in this very respect. It is on this basis that history must be written, in other words, in a manner which achieves this aim; it should not be written in a manner whereby sectarianism in our Arab, as well as in our Iraqi, community is encouraged. When we write history in this respect, we have to highlight the role of the people. We find that we need, from the point of view of both civilization and politics, to highlight this aspect. This must be undertaken, however, in strict accordance with historical authenticity, omitting details that do not serve this aim, as long as the avoidance of going into details does not cause a serious deficiency in the correct recording of our history.

Regarding historiography, some may say that history deals with individuals and not with the masses of the people, nor does it discuss the role of these masses. History retains the details of events as they were and as they happened at the time. History is invariably written in the frame of mind of the regime in power. As a matter of fact, rulers in the past were known to direct [the work of] historians, as we ourselves are doing today, bearing in mind, naturally, the differences in circumstances and motives. We want history to be written in a manner whereby not only a citizen's pride in the history of his people and nation is enhanced, but also he derives such a sense of inspiration from the details of this history that it [this sense] has a favourable effect on his work, initiative and sacrifice. At the same time, when we discuss history and the role of the masses in history, we must not forget, nor indeed neglect, the moral aspect which prompts citizens to make sacrifices, to give, to uphold right and to oppose evil in order that history may record their names and deeds signi-

ficantly. This fact obliges us not to overlook, or neglect, the role of champions and heroes in history — mention must be made of them under the guise of projecting the role of the people.

It is possible to record honestly the role of both people and leaders without undue neglect of either and without favouring one at the expense of the other. At the same time we have to project the values that have made our history radiant, as well as projecting those that have had a primary effect in moving and mobilizing the masses of the people and in deepening their faith at the time.

The great Islamic conquests were not brought about by the leaders alone any more than they were the work of the masses alone. These conquests were a mixture of principles, policies and power, in other words, people, leaders and principles. At the same time, when we discuss the moral values that have to be taken into consideration, we have to be careful not to neglect these very values on the one hand, and not to adopt them in a manner whereby they become a cover for fables and for a departure from objectivity on the other hand.

When we were at school (whether primary, intermediate or secondary) we were made to read more European history than Arab history. What we really want today is to have our pupils and students understand our Arab history as well as for them to understand the ancient and the modern history of Iraq. Only after this primary step has been achieved can we discuss history and define its courses within the limits that develop the values of both student and man in the community. Such a development must be realized along the path of the Party's principles, which include the struggle for Arab unity and the enhancement of Iraqi unity; and in a manner whereby optimism regarding the achievement of

the said principles is also enhanced. This is to be corroborated by limited examples from the history of other nations in their process of unification. When such examples are given, [the teacher must] concentrate on the aspects that make a student comprehend fully the lessons derived from the processes of unification of these nations after they were divided. The history of these nations, moreover, must be so written that it will make a student realize that ambitions are within reach, once he adheres to the necessary requirements for their achievement. Care must be taken, moreover, to bring out the role of the Arab nation and the positive effect of its civilization on the history of the other said nations. This latter endeavour must be so achieved that it will enhance the confidence of both the reader and the student of history in his people and nation; and indicate to him the inevitability of triumph and the realization of all the principles of ambition in all fields.

In moving from the discussion of history to that of education, national duties and similar subjects taught at the universities, we must not fail to emphasize the values of collective work, while not forgetting the importance of personal initiative within the framework of serving the community. Nor must we forget, when writing about or discussing collective work and the role of the populace in modern society and in history, the vital importance of the correct balance between the populace's consciousness of its role on the one hand and the incentives drawn from the lessons of history, including the projection of the role of heroes and champions, on the other hand. This will undoubtedly prompt citizens to be sincere leaders, faithful to their people and their nation.

Moreover, while discussing the issue of national education, we must not forget to identify the customary

'enemies'. This should not only be done in the ordinary way or by direct discussion, but also in a manner whereby it makes children and students alike continue their hatred of imperialism just as imperialism continues to hate them; it should also be done through all the due considerations and the examples and details possible. No science could be divorced from politics if we really wanted to utilize any scientific subject for the purpose of arriving at the required target to change society comprehensively and radically.

Brothers,

We respect the opinions of other brother citizens. However, we ourselves must lead the system of education and all its orientations, since this system constitutes an essential part of the process of creating present and future generations. We hope, at the same time, that all teachers who are involved in the affairs of national education, the preparation of the curricula, and leading the generation through education, have studied the ideology of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party very thoroughly. Such a study is essential, on account of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party being the leader of this community and this authority. At the same time, the citizen ought to comprehend the Party's ideology and be enlightened by it.

Now let us move to the work of the committees. In this respect we have this to say: there should be co-ordination; no work must be isolated from either the level above it or the one below it — thus the educational aspect of the committees' work (at kindergarten, primary, etc. level) must not be cut off from the level that follows it. Construction starts from the ground level upwards. Thus the central concept must play its role in the relationship between the committees responsible at kindergarten and primary

levels, on the one hand, and the committee at university level (being the highest) on the other hand.

Economics must have a social concept in its process and educational basis, since the order for which we are struggling is a socialist one. Naturally, socialism is one among a number of central aims for which we are struggling. Accordingly, we have to go deep in studying and teaching economic trends and concepts that do not conflict with the principles of the Leading Party. Let me say clearly that we do not approve of civility or acts of courtesy at the expense of what we believe in. We want a socialist generation and one that believes in Arab nationalism. Such, in fact, is the generation we are striving to create within the greater Arab community. None of this means, of course, that we do not respect the opinion of others who have different approaches. However, the epoch-making stage through which our Party has assumed leadership requires, or in fact necessitates, that our ideology should be the one that leads.

The role of the Party was not asserted haphazardly during this crucial period; it was asserted through real effort. Such an effort, it must be emphasized, would not have achieved much had there not been a correct ideology behind it. Opportunities for political work in Iraq had been 'open to all'. In saying this, we are speaking figuratively, of course, for the true picture was entirely different: oppression, despotism and domination were substituted for democracy, free speech and political work; people were imprisoned and tortured but they 'struggled' nevertheless. The only organ that has managed to come to power is the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party — the Party that preceded, nay outdistanced, all other nationalist groups in bringing about the Revolution.

Mention of the nationalist forces crops up whenever necessitated by quotation or by the topic discussed. As provided in the Covenant of National Work, and when we discuss methodologies and other economic trends with a view to making a comparative study of them, we must bring out the aspect of critical examination, if need be, without actually turning the whole subject into a matter for study. The theory of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, which is the theory adopted for the construction of a socialist order, is the one espoused by the State in this country and it is also the one for whose realization the Arab community is struggling. This, in fact, is the very theory that must stand out and take its leading position. Thus, when undertaking comparative studies, careful attention must be paid to avoid writing in books and economic curricula what the three economic systems — i.e. the capitalist, the Marxist-Leninist and the Ba'thist — lay down in a manner whereby all these systems are placed on one level, so that the student is left to decide which trend to accept and consequently chooses to prefer the system which he then believes to be the right one. Therefore we have to study economic methodologies critically in order to derive from them those aspects of critical study which are in favour of the theory we believe in — in other words, the theory of Arab Revolution, which is in essence the theory of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party applied in the construction of the community for which we all strive.

Brothers,

When we discuss the subject of sincerity as an aspect of national education, we must touch on the conditions and the means which make a person acquire the virtue of sincerity. It must be realized that honesty and sincerity,

devotion to country, love of others, love of the values of collective work and forsaking the values of individual work cannot be achieved through direct means only. Consequently, this means that special attention must be paid to indirect educational means, with a view to achieving the required aim. This must be done, furthermore, in a way that does not create a psychological gap between the pupil, or the student, and the subject of study.

You must avoid ambiguity and complications in the method employed in writing, especially when it concerns national education. We must appreciate that what really matters is to provide people with the suitable climate and the correct method in order to facilitate their understanding of our ideology. The best method is one which is comprehensible. The National Education Committee must give its attention to every aspect of national education, starting with the weekly ceremony of saluting the colours on Thursdays — the means by which a pupil's pride in his country and in his national Flag is enhanced — and ending in what requires to be written in the curricula of national education.

THE STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK OF THE NATION'S NEED FOR SCIENCE

THE STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK OF THE NATION'S NEED FOR SCIENCE*

On this occasion we have to refer to two points. Regarding the first point, it must be understood that the development of nations along the path of construction is either accomplished in a normal manner, that is to say, without the actual process of development being subjected to bitter setbacks; or [it is accomplished] in the wake of sharp and bitter setbacks. Our Arab nation had reached the pinnacle of development in many aspects and had expressed, in the course of its history, its glory and radiance through this development. It also sustained dreadful setbacks afterwards, especially during the course of its contemporary history. One of the setbacks took place on 5 June 1967. We do not want, at this meeting, to go into the details of the negative aspects of the 5 June 1967 war. In fact, we are going to concentrate on the positive aspect of this war: to some extent, this war made the Arabs pay particular attention to science and its role in the process of all-out development, including the military sphere.

* The text of Comrade Saddam Hussein's speech delivered during the constituent session of the Arab Confederation of Assemblies for Scientific Research held on 28 May 1975.

It is evident from the session you are holding here that your concern for co-ordination and joint work in the field of scientific research is prompted by the backwardness and shortcomings of the Arabs as a result of their neglect of science and lack of interest in it — a fact which you yourselves discovered in the wake of the 5 June [1967] war.

Strategic thinking, feasibility studies, and careful consideration not only of what we possess and what is incumbent on us to acquire but also of the enemy's conceptions and reaction towards us — these are all corollaries of the crucial issue of science and scientific thinking.

The second point concerns your concern in forming a national federal organization which expresses the meeting of the sons of the nation, from the Arab countries, in an effective manner along the path of unified work. I truly call your endeavour, in establishing an Arab union in this respect, an effective manner of unified national work, despite the possibility that it may appear a small undertaking to some of you.

Several trends towards unified work, both on the theoretical and the practical levels, have invariably been appearing. While some of the Arabs hovered, as it were, on the horizons of general principles and emotional calls for the fulfilment of strategic ends (despite the diversified elements of existing reality and the need for dynamism), others were satisfied with mere simple forms, completely lacking in cohesion, in the field of unified national work, forsaking the strategic aim of establishing Arab unity. However, only through setbacks, experience and added time, and through the effective media of science, politics and people, have the Arabs appreciated a significant new fact along the path of their unified work — the need to make

do with whatever is available without excluding aspirations for betterment from their calculations. Making do with whatever is available presupposes the need to develop its forms and potentials in the direction of the great aim and in accordance with the requirements of true ambition. Unified work must not be approached from one angle; it must be approached from the economic, ideological, political and technical angles as well as from the angle of science and scientific research, as indeed you are doing at this very place. In fact, you are undertaking a twofold project: on the one hand, your work is both national and unified, while on the other hand it is a scientific work along the path of unity.

Scientific research institutions are virtually no less than important laboratories and workshops for the preparation of data and vital ideas in the interest of the strategic aims utilized in setting up modern communities. Your work, moreover, acquires a significance of considerable weight under the prevailing fortunate conditions of the latter half of the twentieth century in which we are living.

It would be useful to make the results of your research and discoveries known to Arab leaders and rulers. We must admit, at this very juncture, that the issue of scientific research and the interest and concern in it constitute something novel for us. As a matter of fact, I have just said that interest in this very issue is rather recent, and I have even defined the stage during which the interest of some or all of the Arabs began to develop — it was, in fact, in the wake of the 5 June [1967] war. We also have to accept the fact that every idea expresses a need; that a need is placed within the limits of immediate requirements or, at times, within the limits of the strategic range; and that the Arab nation's need of science must be placed within the limits of

the strategic range. In fact, the Arab nation's need for science is equivalent to its need to live. There is no longer scope for any nation to live with dignity and respected by others, and to participate, within international society, in offering something to human civilization, without taking an interest in science and without actually participating in making scientific discoveries and developing scientific uses.

Thus the more our interest [in science] develops so that we become a respected nation with a defined message and are able to participate in the construction of human society, the more our interest in science, and its correct use, should increase and develop. At the same time, the more shaky our conceptions become in building our nation on a sound basis, along the path we have referred to, the less our interest in science becomes. Conversely, concern in building a nation is equivalent to a concern with science.

Although a concern with science has so far encouraged optimism, it has not yet achieved all that is really necessary in this respect. We must emphasize again that an interest in science along the correct lines places us on the path of progress towards building the community to which we aspire; and that a serious concern with development along the correct lines leads to an interest in science. A concern with development, moreover, must not be based on requirements that are either immediate or transient, but should occupy its due strategic position both in conception and in methods of work in the course of the required development for building up the united Arab nation.

The development that has actually taken place in Iraq in the field of scientific research, and in other fields, is still short of what we all aspire to. In this respect I must agree with what was said by one of our brothers here, namely,

that the migration of Arab brains to foreign countries does not come as a result of financial need but as a result of the endeavour to seek work in more suitable and more favourable scientific environments. A scientist is very like an artist — they both need a particular climate in order to be productive and creative. The psychological aspect plays a decisive role in determining the result achieved by a scientist; a scientist must feel out of place and restricted when living in an environment where political unrest and disrespect for science reign supreme, and where the people and surroundings offer little in terms of appreciation and encouragement. Consequently, he has no option but to seek refuge, as it were, in a place where he finds a degree of satisfaction despite his remoteness from his original home and environment. At least he can find in his new adopted milieu a community of interest and understanding through mutual love of, and concern for, science and its role in building up communities. Herein lies the real reason behind the migration of Arab brains.

At this juncture, I must touch on a significant fact: in the event of the Arab countries being able to provide the requisite conditions for the creation of the necessary environment under which science and scientific research can move forward, most of the Arab brains that have gone abroad would return home. This in itself would also lead to putting an end to, or at least diminishing, the exodus of Arab brains. The Arabs themselves will only be fortunate in the return of these scientists to their original homes after [the scientists] have grasped, and benefited from, advanced techniques of building modern communities. Let us remember, moreover, that scientific progress is neither preserved in, nor made at, a single laboratory; it is, in fact, a series of mobile and complementary circles

with mutual requirements for advancement and progress. Thus, the last circle in American scientific progress cannot stand aloof from its French or Soviet counterparts. Now that there has been a relaxation in international politics, this fact has begun to have a wider significance on account of the exchange of data and specializations, and also on account of the inability of the more advanced states to impose absolute isolation either on the data they possess or on the progress they have made.

The sons of our nation, who are part of many of the world circles of scientific development, and who occupy senior positions in the field of scientific work, are fully in the picture regarding the details and secrets of these circles. They can, in fact, on returning home, give their countries the benefits of scientific work and its advanced techniques. They, or at least the greater part of them, once properly cared for and directed, can adapt their knowledge in such a way that it becomes consistent with our own national and pan-Arab particularities. When this is accomplished we shall have acquired a great volume of the science of other states.

As for the role of science in political decisions, I hold that no political decision is taken without its being connected in one way or another with science. In fact, I fully support the view of one of our brothers, present here today, that a political leadership must seek assistance through the opinions of committed scientists and specialists in their own fields.

How is a decision taken? It is taken in the light of the following elements: an aim, data, conclusions and finally decisions. Even if a political leadership is able to deduce the basic data required for decision-making, such an ability is not always effective if utilized in isolation from the data

and analysis of the committed specialists. If, on the other hand, such an ability managed to deduce and make a decision, it [the decision] would not be considered, at any rate, as an alternative to that made by scientists and specialists in the field of data and the analysis of related aspects connected to their own detailed specialization. The main role of a leadership is expressed in terms of defining and formulating the great aims. These aims are, in fact, too great to be defined and formulated by any one sector through the specialization of that same sector; but such aims cannot stand aloof from the specialized and scientific considerations of sectors concerned, each according to its own specialization.

ON THE PROSPECTS AND STRATEGY OF EDUCATION

ON THE PROSPECTS AND STRATEGY OF EDUCATION*

In discussing the subject of education, I am going to lay down some points connected with my own special province, which is politics and political work. The points stem from the assumption that an advantageous conduct or activity, whether undertaken individually or collectively within a community, must have an aim. Such a conduct or activity itself stems from the assumption that any idea which governs the activity in this province must have a connection with the existing social reality, and must also be bound to the elements that make up the situation which interacts with it. Accordingly, when we look into the theories of education, whether of Eastern or Western origin, we must acquaint ourselves with three cases.

In the first case we must discover the aim, or rather the strategic aims, to which a prevailing [system of] education, connected to a theory or a philosophy, is attached. This is so because branch theories, like the theory of education, stem from a particular philosophical base and a more

* The text of Comrade Saddam Hussein's speech delivered on the occasion of the First Conference of Arab Educationalists, held in Baghdad from 7-15 June 1975.

general theory which is rooted in the economic, political and social reality of one of the stages of development. To bring the picture nearer, let us consider this hypothetical example: if we were to sever parts of a body, or fake the picture, of one of the most handsome of men, in order to 'create' a different man or a different picture, our product would look rather ugly. This is only a simple example by means of which we wish to express the fact that no part can be of value unless it is connected to an origin with which it is balanced in quantity and formation; consequently, no action can have an effective value capable of changing an economic, social and political reality unless such action stems from an origin with which the said action is balanced in magnitude and form.

Theories of education, even those that deal with the means of utilizing the human element in the interest of development, actually stem from particular philosophies and are connected to aims. A philosophy, when formulated, has a connection with a particular reality and with the constituent elements — economic, political and social — of that very reality. Thus the theories of a capitalist community are connected to the philosophy that brought about that very community; similarly, the theories of the Soviet Union are connected with the philosophy and aims that are related to the Soviet community. Therefore, Brothers, particularities, whether on the level of a particular country or a nation, must enter as a decisive factor in determining the philosophy and the strategic aims connected to a philosophy, and, consequently, such particularities must also play a part in determining the method of education for the younger generation or for any other area of life.

If we take the Soviet Union, for example, we will find that the basis of its philosophy stems from the Marxist-

Leninist, and not merely the Marxist, theory. When Marx and Engels established their philosophy, this very philosophy was related to the economic, social and political elements of the European community. However, this original theory was not the one that was subsequently applied to the Soviet Union — it was the Marxist-Leninist theory that was implemented. Herein lies a particularity tinged with an effective national touch. Nor must we imagine that the change in terminology for purposes of application was a superficial issue — on the contrary, the term 'Leninist', which was subsequently added, is connected with the Lenin approach, as it were.

Particularities of States and Nations

Accordingly, added ideologies confirm the national and pan-Soviet particularities of the USSR. Similarly, when we move to consider China within the Marxist-Leninist concept, we discover certain national particularities which were added to the Marxist-Leninist theory and expressed in terms of the ideologies of Mao Tse-Tung. This is similar in Korea, where national particularities, expressed in the ideologies of Kim Il Sung, colour the Marxist-Leninist theory. The same applies to Yugoslavia and the particularities of the Tito ideology. This picture remains unaltered in respect of Vietnam and of the Cambodian and Laotian revolutionaries and their national particularities. Likewise, if you studied the Cuban community you would notice the added particularities; these ideological particularities became part of the Cuban national reality as soon as they were put into practice.

Insofar as the capitalist community is concerned, we say that capitalist theories of education are connected with the capitalist community, in other words, they are connected

with the basic economic, political and social philosophy of the various capitalist communities; they are also attached to added national particularities as dictated by the particular conditions of each individual capitalist state. Thus, if we were to consider carefully the theories of education in Germany, both in the pre- and post-war periods, we would discover an essential difference — a difference which is connected with the very core of the order and with the economic, political and social developments attached to both the old and the new values of the said order; this difference is also connected with the prevailing psychological mood, whether in the community that existed at the time or the one existing at present. Alternatively, if we were to go to Japan and consider the theories of education applied in the pre- and inter-war periods, as well as those that became applicable in the post-war period (that is, after the defeat of Japan in the war), we would discover basic differences among all these groups of theories.

Thus what we really should take into consideration when studying any theory of education, irrespective of its origin, is the fact that such a study should enable us to acquire a degree of knowledge that will help us in establishing our own theory of education, providing that such a theory is directly connected with our own national and pan-Arab particularities. The knowledge acquired, moreover, must not be utilized in a manner whereby we merely make a copy of the data acquired, but rather in the form of interaction. We must remember that each philosophy, and consequently any theory emanating from it, is connected to the prevailing psychological situation in a community, in addition to its connections with the economic, political and social reality. Such a psychological situation does not really exist on its own and in an absolute manner but is

connected, in fact, to the subjective elements already mentioned. Consequently, unless one fully appreciates the reality through which a theory has been formulated — psychologically, economically, politically, socially, and so on — no use can be made of it in the form of interaction. Only in such a form would the theory be of effective use in helping us to formulate our own national theory.

Added Time

Related to the other two aspects already mentioned is the time factor — added time is in effect the sum total of added, developed factors, and not merely added time. In other words, we can define added time as the time to which is added all the development that a community undergoes. Unless added time is considered in its connection with the elements that are also added economically, politically and socially, then the process of transposition will lose its value. Such a loss is inevitable on account of the failure to appreciate the development that has been achieved through the agency of added time.

When we leave theories aside as a result of pressure by those who hold that we may not, after all, agree on theories, and when we attempt to discuss or study your proposal for research (i.e., 'Education for the Sake of Development'), here again we find ourselves obliged to inquire about the philosophy which is going to underlie development. Are we to achieve development for the sake of creating an accumulation of capital within the concept of a capitalist system? Are we to achieve development as a basis for a socio-economic transformation towards socialism? We must appreciate that each situation has its own requirements and that no part of a particular situation can be uprooted and transplanted, as it were, so that it becomes

part of a different situation. The sequence of development of any situation, together with all its ramifications, must be balanced and consistent with the situation itself, in other words, with the philosophy, the aim or the strategic aims.

You are likely to ask, along the lines of the question that one of you has just asked, what we are to do if we do not agree on these concepts at this meeting; or if we find that we do not have a clear thoroughfare, in all the Arab countries without exception, allowing us to implement the ideas on whose philosophy and strategic aims we are going to agree. We appreciate, of course, that some books are taught at schools and universities, while others are published for people in general. It is in the latter books that full ideologies are found — ideologies that are directly connected with the philosophy in which you believe, and from which not only limited aims spring forth but also the means to achieve these limited aims. Thus we have two categories of books: books that deal with the 'available' and books that deal with 'ambition'. Each of the two types performs its role from the position allotted to it and within the limits of the circumstances through which it exists.

Dr Musare' gave an example in which he stated that twelve million Arab primary school pupils went to school in 1970; out of this total only one million completed primary school education while the rest left school. He considered the main cause for this to be the backwardness of the means and the media of education. Such an explanation not only constitutes an understatement but also reflects a lack of understanding of the roots of the problem. The cause is not related to the backwardness of the means or the media of education, but to all the aspects and constituent elements of the community, economic, social and political. The

eleven million schoolboys and girls did not leave school on account of the backwardness of the means of education but because their families needed their support — they were more useful to their parents as herdsmen or shepherds, or as employees in some private business or another, than as graduates of primary school education preparing to enter the intermediate stage of education. The example given by Dr Musare' clearly illustrates to us the mistakes we make when looking into any case that involves numbers, particularly if we consider these numbers in isolation from the essence of the realities to which they are directly related.

Moreover, when Dr Musare' suggests the 'militarization of education' he merely divorces ramifications from their original basis without actually providing a solution to the real issue. The correct slogan, as I see it, should be the militarization of education and the militarization of the people's education, including the military. We must appreciate that the militarization of education in itself is a side issue. In his suggestion, Dr Musare' really meant that we need to educate students on the use of arms and on carrying arms. An essential prerequisite to this would be finding the relevant philosophy and the strategic aim, in addition to the belief that relates to both the philosophy and the aim. Thus, when we implant belief in the thoughts of a student, or his father, regarding Palestine being very much part of the Arab homeland and a concept that is ever-alive, we are deemed to have been successful in achieving an important aspect of the aim of militarization of education within the framework of the general plan, and in taking matters in full and not in parts.

Subjecting students to military and combat drills does not in itself achieve for us an aim along the path of national

and pan-Arab struggle, unless clear policies emanate from such drills in a manner whereby a trend is clearly defined. When the personnel of the Arab armies of Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Syria, and so on, are actually in possession of an educational theory on which they centre, from boyhood right up to the time of their assumption of command, then they cannot fail to be influenced by the essence of this theory. There is a marked difference between a fight merely in defence of the Golan Heights and that in which the fight for the Golan Heights marks the beginning of the liberation of Palestine. Similarly, there is a difference in the battle merely for the sake of defending the Iraqi Governorate of Anbar and that in which such a battle leads us to the liberation of Palestine.

Education differs in each of the situations cited in the above examples. To defend Anbar as Iraqis does not carry any exceptional national or pan-Arab indications. You must appreciate that in the event of Anbar being threatened, the ruling regime, irrespective of its being capitalist or socialist, would stand up to defend it; patriots and nationalists would do the same; and so would the progressive and the reactionary elements. An autocratic order, no less than a popular democratic one, would defend Anbar, in the same way as Syrians and Egyptians would stand up to defend the Golan and Sinai respectively. Thus no exceptional particularity is involved in Iraqis fighting in the defence of an Iraqi territory. Let us admit, after all, that the seat of our power rests on Iraqi territory and it would be all too obvious that we should defend the very territory on which our seat of power rests.

The picture differs entirely, however, when we stand to fight in defence of Palestinian territories. In such an event we have the added new concept. In such a case, defence

would assume a different meaning — a national meaning — centred on a particular philosophy. The individual Arab armies would, in this event, be fighting outside the political frontiers of their respective countries. Hence the differences between the two cases.

It is natural for Japan to fight in defence of Japanese territories, notwithstanding its capitalism. However, the picture differs when the Soviet Union rises to fight in defence of Cuba or in defence of any of the countries of the Warsaw Pact — such a defence is directly related to a particular philosophy in which the Soviet Union believes, a philosophy which actually governs Soviet commitments outside its boundaries. Likewise, there is a particular national concept involved in Iraq's defence of Syria against the Zionist enemy or in the fight of the Algerian army in the defence of Palestine.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN APEX BASE AND SIDES

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN APEX, BASE AND SIDES*

The subject of geography has particular significance when due consideration is given to work and to political struggle. The questions we have to ask ourselves are the following. How to study geography? How to study Iraq and the Arab homeland in geography? How to study Iraq and the Arab homeland in history? How to look at Iraq, as part of the Arab homeland, within the concept of pan-Arabism and how to look at it individually within the concepts of national work and national struggle? How to look at Iraq and avoid at the same time any conflict that may result between national concepts and pan-Arab concepts, while avoiding an possible divergence between the two sets of concepts?

Any movement which aims to change a particular reality is bound to fall into error if it is divorced from the constituent elements of that very reality during the process of change envisaged; nor would this movement manage to achieve the aims of the task it wishes to undertake. This is an axiom related to any work, regardless of whether such a work is economic, political or social.

Stemming from this concept, we must, when discussing

* The text of Comrade Saddam Hussein's speech delivered on the occasion of the Teachers' Conference held on 10 February 1976.

the concept of pan-Arab work and pan-Arab struggle, acquaint ourselves primarily with the Iraq in which we live, and we must also be precise and daring in our thoughts regarding this issue. Such daring and precision, required in acquainting oneself with Iraq, should not be taken to mean an endeavour to forsake our national and pan-Arab concepts and orientations; they are required in order to provide the relevant safeguards which must centre on a conceptual and scientific basis to ensure continuity of progress along the path of our ideologies and principles.

We have minorities and majorities living in this country. However, within the boundaries of the country itself we are one people. Thus any emphasis on ethnological labelling — that is, calling one group Arab people and another Kurdish people — constitutes in effect a deviation in concepts and an attempt, wilful or otherwise, which leads to cementing the philosophical basis of chauvinist and secessionist tendencies. The term that should be emphasized is the Iraqi people, which is in effect both the constitutional and the political term; it is also the correct term that serves the interest of principles. We are one people made up of more than one ethnic group. This requires us to be cautious as it requires us to find out, and acquaint ourselves with, all forms and means that are likely to promote differences among our people and consequently lead this people to adopt wrong or deviating trends. Whether such means and forms are consciously planned by an exterior force or whether they exist through lack of awareness and misunderstanding within our own community does not really matter; what is important is that we should have this picture clearly before us when we apply ourselves to the task of writing geography and history.

Among those who work in political and social institutions

in the world and who represent their institutions from the summit, there are some whose feeling of weakness may lead them mistakenly to conceive that the only correct way to keep their top positions is the destruction of neighbouring summits and sides. In actual fact, the correct way is something entirely different and contrary to such a misconception. The natural way to safeguard and maintain a position at the apex, whether in a constitutional form or in the form of struggle, is to maintain both base and sides. Accordingly, when we wish to maintain a position at the summit, or summits, within the framework of responsibility, we must endeavour to cultivate and develop all those concerned. Only thus would we effect the correct balance between maintaining the position at the summit and the required vital relation between summit, 'sides' and base. In this event, the way to the summit, or maintaining a position at the summit, does not require other and neighbouring summits to be reduced to a flat level.

In conformity with the logic of the misconceptions we have mentioned, some people, when discussing Iraq in history or in geography, attempt to crush Iraq or to reduce its volume to the very minimum in an effort to manifest the national conceptions — in other words, in order to bring forth the national aspect of Iraq's affinity to the Arab homeland and of the Iraqi people's affinity to the Arab nation. Others, on the other hand, attempt to concentrate on Iraq to the extent of overlooking the necessity of maintaining a balance between Iraq as a country and Iraq's affinity to the Arab nation and Arab homeland. They thereby make an error as a result of strengthening 'Iraqism', as it were, at the expense of the [Arab] nation and at the expense of both the national conceptions and the requirements for national struggle. What should really prevail, therefore, is a state of equilibrium; a precise and objective state of equilibrium must predominate over our endeavour to discuss the history of Iraq and of the Arab

nation; and [over our endeavour] to discuss the geography of Iraq and of the Arab nation along the correct lines we have mentioned and through means identical to the relationship between apex, sides and base which we have also mentioned.

When we place Iraq at the core of the [Arab] nation, we no longer fear the strengthening of 'Iraqism' at the expense of the nation, however proudly we speak of it and of its past, present and future. In return for this, we have to observe, when we discuss the relation between Iraq and the Arab nation, that the correct strengthening of the bonds of nationalism presupposes extinguishing, and indeed liquidating, all harmful trends and attitudes within the Iraqi community. This in itself requires the circumvention of any contradiction, even if it were superficial, between the 'Iraqism' of an Iraqi and his affinity and affiliation to the Arab homeland and the Arab nation. Such an affinity is not contradictory to the existence of minorities in Iraq or in any other Arab country, simply because minorities and majorities exist in most, if not in all, countries in the world. Despite such a fact, we see that minorities and majorities, within the framework of national sovereignty, constitute one, and only one, people with equal rights and duties. Methods of different forms and descriptions, utilized to achieve certain aims, constitute one of the solutions that can be applied to remedy any possible, or conceived, contradiction between 'Iraqism' and Arabism.

At the same time, and while we are on the subject of history and geography, let us use a sharp pair of scissors to cut off anything and everything that could lead to raising ethnic and secessionist tendencies. We have to give due importance to statements and citations that enhance the unity of the Iraqi people as well as the unity and solidarity of the Arab nation, both within the individual states and within the greater unity to come. For example, in talking

about Switzerland or the Soviet Union we should say that each constitutes one people despite the fact that each is composed of more than one ethnic group. We must state this fact in order to implant in the thoughts of an Iraqi citizen the absence of any contradiction between the struggle in the interest of Iraq and the struggle for pan-Arabism. This reality, moreover, must concern all the Iraqis and not only the Arabs among them. This is so on account of the fact that national struggle, along the trends of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, is not concerned with the future of the Arabs in Iraq alone but is connected, actually and potently, with the future of all Iraqis.

The Revolution has come into existence in this country and has introduced its known conceptions. Being thus, the Revolution must strengthen the ground supports on which it is based. The process of strengthening these supports is not limited to discussions on the socio-political supports and their post-revolutionary development; we must seek the help of geography and history in our effort to strengthen the supports of the Revolution and to usher it into the shining future prospects.

Here, when we discuss Iraq, the country of renowned civilizations, and when we emphasize the merits and importance of those civilizations, our discussion assumes a distinguished particularity in this field. We shall find at the same time, in both the history and the constituent elements of these civilizations, indications as well as proof which would strengthen the bonds that exist between the Iraqi citizen and the Arab homeland. In so doing, we are in fact reminding an Iraqi citizen of the history of the shining aurora in this country of civilizations, thereby increasing his optimism in the ability of Iraq and its people to shoulder the task of the national message in an extraordinary manner; and enhancing his belief regarding the capability of Iraq and its people to radiate through their interaction

with national and human struggle, thereby assuming an important role in working in the interests of both humanity and the Arab nation.

The case of discussing the relative changes that took place in the post-revolutionary era, and ones that subsequently led the country forward, assumes a special significance, thereby necessitating their being mentioned with a considerable degree of pride. This must not be taken to mean that we are giving weight to regionalism, nor does such a mention lead, directly or indirectly, to regionalism. Discussing the issue of the changes that led the country forward, as well as discussing the role of the Revolution in bringing about such changes, is no more than an effort directed towards affirming and deepening pride in the principles of the Revolution. These principles are simply those of, and indeed those for, national struggle.

ROOTING DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS IS AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW COMMUNITY

ROOTING DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS IS AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW COMMUNITY*

To maintain the trait of collective work and effort is among the important traditions of democratic institutions, regardless of whether such institutions are political or otherwise. Collective work and effort are expressed through democratic discussions, criticism and rectification as well as through the unhindered airing of personal views and suggestions. The exercise of such methods leads to the discovery of the right elements that are capable of leading the institution to which they belong. At the same time, the process of collective association, undertaken through voluntary participation, presupposes belief in the rudiments of work along such trends. Collective association, moreover, and the belief in the rudiments of work, are all expressed in terms of the rooting of democratic work and its trends, since they all end up in achieving a paramount aim — serving the interests of these trends. Thus, if the members of a particular trade union, which is a democratic organization, do not have faith in the ability and worth of the administrative committee of their union, then this will

* The text of Comrade Saddam Hussein's speech delivered on the occasion of the session of the Geographic Committee for Amending Curricula held on 30 September 1975.

inevitably lead to adverse effects which cannot fail to leave their mark in one way or another on the overall functions and daily work of that same union. Unless the said members are truly convinced, through democratic deliberations and discussions, of the programme of work adopted by the union, their enthusiasm to implement this programme will undoubtedly fall short of what is required. The same goes for other activities.

Accordingly you should not be impatient at queries and criticism that stem from good intentions, particularly if you bear in mind that, after all, the aim of any discussion is the achievement of better results, and consequently a better community, through the amicable interplay of opinions and views. Without such practices we shall not be able to implant the new value for which we have struggled for long years.

When Ba'thists talk about the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party in a particularly distinguished manner, they do not in fact mean to monopolize all rights to this Party any more than they mean to belittle the role and the importance of independent nationalist elements (and that of the other nationalist forces of other parties) in this community. On the contrary, Ba'thists do not consider the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party to be their own exclusive Party; they believe this Party to be very much yours and this includes those among you who have other party affiliations. The reason for such a belief lies in the fact that the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party expresses the conscience and ambition of the people in terms of the Party's principles, the political line it adopts and its struggle to achieve its principles. When this Party divorces the people it is no longer anybody's Party, including the Ba'thists themselves. Let us not forget that Ba'thists originally joined this Party on account of its being the

people's Party. When Ba'thists, who are very much a part of the people, struggle and endure hardship and sacrifice, to say nothing of their patient and sincere work, they do so out of their conviction that their Party is the Party of all, including the elements that belong to other national political parties.

Any one of the people — indeed, any honest person endowed with loyalty to his people and to the soil of his country, Iraq — who undertakes a conscious account, not merely a numerical one, of the achievements that have taken place since 17-30 July 1968 would come out with an undoubtedly decisive conclusion that such achievements deserve pride and merit as well as the chance for continuity with a view to betterment. Thus, loyal citizens, including Ba'thists, must not envisage that they have actually attained a level of perfection; those who believe they have attained perfection do so at the peril of reaching the end of the line, which can only mean an end to development and indeed an end to the work towards development. So long as progress is required, the endeavour towards achieving or attaining perfection is likewise required. Presupposing the existence of inadequacies and insufficiencies, even if they were of a secondary nature, is a basic issue since it constitutes one of the essential conditions and aims that prompts and ensures continuity of diligent work for the sake of development. Nor does such a presupposition do away with, or weaken, pride in work or in the existing achievements; in fact it enhances both work and the said achievements in another manner. Consequently, when we label someone by calling him bigoted, we are in fact pointing to his refusal to recognize the existence of inadequacies for purposes related to advancement.

Love your people and you become Ba'thist. Those who

belong to the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party but do not love their people, through daily exercise, are not Ba'thists. Love of the people precedes love of the Party. There is no contradiction involved in loving people and Party at one and the same time. Anyone who loves the Party through the concepts to which we have alluded is bound to love the people. Nor is there a conflict regarding the priority of such a love — loving the people first does not constitute in itself a contradiction with your love for the Party. All true revolutionaries in the world, including the Ba'thists, love their peoples first. That is why they become revolutionaries, regardless of stands or points of view.

We may ask ourselves how a teacher educates a generation. How does he instil general principles and moral values in the minds and hearts of a generation? However, before going into this subject, I would like to give examples from communities that do not believe in the concept of spirit. Let us take China as an example. In reading China's old constitution, we discover heresy in some of its provisions. However, in China's new constitution there is a clear provision for freedom of worship — a man can choose between belief and heresy. We may then ask ourselves about the nature of the novelty which was brought about by the new constitution of China. Is it heresy? The answer is obviously no. The novelty brought about is belief. China is a great country and its greatness lies in its people and in the application of the policies and principles in which it believes. After its long experience between 1949 and 1975 China decreed new principles in the interest of belief. Such a stand is not devoid of great ideological, political and psychological effects on the Chinese people, whether at present or in the future. Thus we do not believe that China's stand is the result of haphazard or superficial

thinking. Such a stand obviously has its own significant reflections not only on the people and principles but also on subsequent policies.

It is quite possible for principled political leaders to reconcile belief in spiritual issues and work which aims at constructing socialism and the new community. This is what we are actually undertaking in our own existing community. Let us consider the following example.

We have visited the Soviet Union. On one occasion we toured one of the great stately palaces in the Kremlin where, accompanied by the Soviet Prime Minister, we noticed in one of the halls the names of army officers who had participated in various past battles and had scored victories against foreign enemies: the names were inscribed in gold letters on the walls. Now you may wonder what a thing like this signifies. It can only mean pride in the shining aspect of history, including the history of the Tsars. Such a gesture on the part of the Soviets can only indicate a true and conscious appreciation of the fact that a nation without history cannot prompt its sons to achieve a better future. This very fact prompts us to make our generation — the one which is required to offer sacrifices — comprehend that we do not begrudge giving full due rights to those who fight in defence of the country and earn immortality through martyrdom in the field of honour. We do this to encourage our sons to fight in defence of the country's, as well as the nation's, honour; to endeavour to build our new community with ability and resolution; and to aspire constantly to have their names carved with pride in the annals of their people's history.

Let us take another example. What is the true nature of the Sino-Soviet conflict? Let us be clear about one paramount fact: despite what is said and written about struggle,

a conflict over a few yards of territory, undertaken under various conflicting and contradictory excuses, is basically caused by nationalistic feelings and tendencies. If the basic cause were otherwise, there would be no real issue involved and it would be immaterial whether the disputed territory happened to be within Soviet, or indeed Chinese, jurisdiction so long as both regimes were socialist and both believed in Marxism-Leninism. We say this not only to affirm the correctness of our view but also to allow each citizen to think daringly, to conceive precisely and objectively and to work diligently in the direction of supporting and enhancing the revolutionary course and the new construction which is being undertaken in this country.

When you consider the experiments of the world in all their particularities — regardless of consistency or contradiction in the general basis for such particularities — you cannot fail to arrive at the sound conclusion on the basis of which you conceive the course that must be followed in order to form the experiment needed within Iraq and within the Arab nation through Iraq.

Thus, when we discuss the Great Muhammad, we must view him as a Prophet of humanity and a great national hero of the Arab nation. We must remember consequently that great men, including Prophets, can only be born from the womb of a great nation.

Criticizing some of the harmful practices borrowed from foreign, and particularly Western communities, one of our brothers present here said that we should not pay much attention to appearances, for appearances were shattered on 5 June [1967] when Israeli women fighters, dressed in shorts, waged battle and won their victory against the Arabs. To such a statement we have the following to say: any stand adopted in contradiction with the correct require-

ments for progress, regardless of whether such a contradiction is superficial or essential, is considered as backwardness and rightism. Any person who attempts to hinder the course of development of a community is in effect attempting to be anti-revolutionary, despite his affiliation to the revolution and his belief in its values. Let us appreciate, therefore, that he who opposes progress places himself in a position whereby he becomes an anti-revolutionary.

At the same time, any transposition of practices and usages, adopted from other communities without much heed to suitability or workability in the new environment, also constitutes a counter-revolutionary act, for a transposition in such a manner exposes a revolution to setbacks as it exposes its political and social courses of action to failure. In addition to the distortion and confusion which such an action brings to the independent course of the revolution, both in its principles and policies, it is no more than a mere act of superficial copying of practices and usages; it does not pay much heed to the links which bind them [these practices and usages] to the intellectual and social aspects of life in the original communities where they evolved and from which they have been borrowed, and it does not consider carefully whether the general trend of these practices and usages is actually consistent with the particularities of development in those very communities, and also with the overall activities and movements in the various fields of these communities. The values and basic considerations of Western communities and their economic, political and social evolution are so alien to us that our rejection of many of their aspects becomes something quite ordinary. Moreover, even though such aspects are in themselves alien in essence to the very basics of Western ideologies, they are, nevertheless, not

altogether inconsistent with such ideologies, at least at the stage concerned. Thus it is no wonder that Zionist Jewesses retain the practices and usages they have adopted, or indeed transposed to Israel, from the French, Romanian, American or West German communities from where they originally emigrated.

Now let us ask ourselves whether we have actually studied the details of the developments that have taken place in the Western communities, together with their bases and trends. Have we traced the course of such developments from their origins right up to the level that these Western communities have attained both spiritually and morally? Have we really considered these aspects; and have we satisfied ourselves with the conclusion that what actually aroused the interest or curiosity of our brother is in effect a natural, or at least semi-natural, aspect of development in Western communities to the extent that it no longer constitutes a contradiction between essence and appearance?

Thus any borrowing of a practice or usage from any of the stages in the history of the progress of nations — divorced from the economic, political and social links which bind it to its relevant stage of development, and taken without due consideration, and full appreciation, of the nature and constituent elements of the very stage from which the act of borrowing is intended — is rendered both harmful and alien.

Now let us leave Western communities and go back to consider China in an effort to examine some of its practices and usages. How many of you have seen a Chinese woman and noticed the way Chinese women dress? Do you realize that love is almost forbidden in China? Do you know why? We may wonder whether Chinese decency and

decorum constitute something which is wrong and unacceptable, or whether the whole issue is linked to the nature of the values and policies adopted by China itself and the nature of the stages of evolution of the community there.

Chinese society, in a way, rejects love between a man and a woman simply on account of the belief that a certain aspect of love controls a part of a human being's thoughts and his concentration on his daily work and, in consequence, causes harm to the required endeavour to build the new China. Thus as soon as a man is discovered to be in love with a certain woman, and as soon as such a love is viewed to be a source of harm to the community, then the two are separated by having one transferred to the northern parts of the country while the other is transferred to the southern parts. Chinese usage recognizes love only to the extent that it does not hinder, or interfere with, production and with precise and hard work; otherwise it is totally rejected.

Let us be clear on the point that when we mention examples from other countries and communities, we do so not in order to copy them blindly but in an effort to enhance the significance of the practices and usages of the prevailing practices and usages in these very countries and communities.

Raising slogans to the effect that duties precede rights does not negate the true bases of the relationship between them; what these slogans simply mean is that rights and duties should be balanced, as defined in the Political Report of the Eighth Regional Conference of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party and in the general principles of the Covenant. However, let us ask ourselves if this balance has been achieved in actual application. Is there a balance

between duties and rights in the movement of our existing community? If our answer is not in the affirmative then we may well ask on which side the balance is tilted. I believe that [at present] rights are being achieved at the expense of duties! Any clear thinking on this very issue will lead the thinker to a conclusion identical to mine. Therefore this leads us to say that this incorrect state of affairs has actually brought about a virtual preference of rights to duties — notwithstanding your slogan that clearly specifies that duties come before rights, and notwithstanding the prevailing constancy of ideological and political views regarding the equilibrium between rights and duties or the precedence of duties over rights in emergencies.

This is the true essence of the slogan 'rights before duties'. Underlying the wording of this slogan is a basic ideological and educational aim. The slogan was raised as an indication of the existence of a vulnerable spot in the daily routine of work. Let us recognize today that there is a definite trend towards rights at the expense of duties in a number of our activities. Let us also be clear regarding the harm that may be inflicted on general policies and on the community as a result of the existence of an unbalanced relationship between rights and duties.

Some people consider that discussions and historical research are both unnecessary and unwarranted. Such people consider, moreover, that interests such as these can only emanate from backward and anachronistic mentalities. We must explain at this juncture that interest in heritage and history is both a basic and an essential issue in the view of our Party. No construction of a true and prosperous present can be effected without an earnest interest in the past. We must study the past, derive useful lessons from its shining aspects and take pride in it.

Present, and indeed future, prosperity are in essence a continuation of an important aspect of the past — the aspect that expresses the true originality and characteristics of both our people and our experiment. However, we reject at the same time the method of sheer copying from history, for such a method undoubtedly attempts to put a stop to time and the wheels of progress, in the world as well as in the Arab community. We also reject the mentalities of those who are extremists in their methods of handling the great heroes and champions of the nation. Such people speak unkindly and unsuitably of our national heroes and claim that, had they been living nowadays, they would have been considered reactionaries by present-day standards, and consequently their deeds would hardly have been worthy of mention.

We say that affairs and persons are not judged in this manner. Judgement of persons or affairs must be made within the bounds of the situation and the period of time during which those people lived and those events took place. An idea is the product of its own time and environment, and it is formed in the crucible of the prevailing spiritual and material factors of its time. When a person is said to be progressive or backward these adjectives are only understood in the very context of time during which the said person lived. The same applies to a person when he is said to be brave or a coward. If persons or affairs were to be judged otherwise, a mistake would be inevitable — a mistake that is likely to have adverse effects not only on our history but also on the present and future of our people and nation.

Let us revert to another issue which relates to the bond between a teacher and his pupil. Some fathers drink wines and spirits with their sons, believing that such conduct is

the correct one in order to establish close relations between them and in shaping the characters of these sons. We say that a boy's character is not formed in this manner. The formation of a boy's character must fall within the framework of the general traditions and usages of the community and within the bounds of the said community's stages of development. Not only would error be inevitable, otherwise, but a boy would be placed in such a state of disequilibrium that it might lead to his downfall and eventual loss. The question of whether or not a person drinks spirits is a personal matter governed only by the norms that regulate the relationship between that person and God.

However, the question assumes a different significance in the event of a student asking his teacher or home tutor whether drinking is sacrilegious and whether it is good or bad. An affirmative (as indeed a negative) reply to this question really depends on how you stand *vis-à-vis* the conventions and usages of foreign communities in this connection. Thus, if such a stand is characterized as being merely a blind copy of said usages and practices, then your answer is going to be something to the effect that drinking is neither bad nor sacrilegious. However, if the subject is tackled within the framework of the boy's age, time, stage of development and community, to say nothing of the prevailing customs and conventions in his own community, then the answer should be something to the effect that drinking is bad, harmful, sacrilegious, and so on. This should be the answer even if the person being asked actually drinks himself.

The aim behind the simple examples we have given is to indicate to you the degree of attention which you are required to pay in order to appreciate the adverse effects that foreign practices and usages can have on our own

traditions and on the requirements for the construction of our new community.

It is clear, thus, that forming methodologies in their general framework is really less important than defining the correct means (which must be developed at the same time) to implement these methodologies. This is an aspect of the art of revolutionary work which aims at changing societies in a particular and a developed manner.

National and pan-Arab in the Activities of the Union

One of the brother lecturers present at this Conference mentioned in his lecture that, insofar as the exterior 'Iraqi' activities of the Teachers' Union are concerned, we should endeavour to streamline these activities in a manner whereby they become part of the activities of the Arab Federation of Teachers. This is correct. However, you must take care not to imagine the existence of a contradiction between an activity that aims at acquainting others with the Revolution in Iraq (which Revolution is the conscience of both people and nation) and the activity that aims at acquainting the outside world with the Arab nation and the issue effecting that nation's destiny. This Revolution constitutes a true expression of your conscience and aspirations inasmuch as it does that of the entire sons of the Arab nation. Therefore acquainting others with the Revolution is simply an alternative method of acquainting them with Arab issues and Arab struggle. Conversely, acquainting people with national struggle in all its fields is in effect acquainting them with the Revolution in Iraq. Identifying national struggle in its true context is, to all practical purposes, an identification of the Revolution in Iraq in its true context. Herein lies the relationship between national and pan-Arab work in this field.

Unions and their Role before and after the Revolution

The report you submitted to this Conference included a criticism of a negative aspect in the stands and activities of the milieu of teachers in the post-revolutionary era. At the same time the report contained praise of the activities and stands of a teacher in the pre-revolutionary era. We must at this very juncture refer to some concepts which shed light on these aspects, in an effort to provide the correct interpretation that defines and prescribes the necessary remedy. Let us appreciate that all the conduct and activities that confront a person defiantly in order to rob him of his acquired rights, crush his personality and harm his freedom actually prompt him to undertake counteraction. At the same time they polarize, as it were, wide sections of the people to a much greater degree than the actual situation necessitates. All this is done for the sake of acquiring new rights or cementing them through positive and constructive struggle.

Our people in Iraq, as indeed all the peoples in the other Arab countries, are quicker to adopt slogans and policies that abound at a time when sovereignty, integrity, freedom and people's rights are at their lowest ebb than they are [to adopt] slogans and policies prevailing at better times when constructive work for prosperity and advancement is under way, even if such work is revolutionary in nature. This is a healthy sign at a time when peoples and revolutionary parties are passing through the phase of underground struggle. It is not so, however, when peoples are the masters of their own destinies. We say that the latter case constitutes an unhealthy sign because we have noticed that some of our brethren have lost the vigour they used to possess in the pre-revolutionary era, when the struggle was underground. This vigour, whether in union or other

activities, has cooled down without any valid or objective justifications. Let us remember that their pre-revolutionary activities were not only directed towards ousting reactionary and dictatorial regimes but also aimed at setting up the people's sovereignty and providing them with the necessary prerequisites for the attainment of happiness. Pre-revolutionary union activity is an effort, within the union's sector, directed towards mobilizing members of that sector and inciting them, along the lines of a defined political course, to expose a reactionary despot or dictator and cause his downfall. At the same time, union activities are in essence an endeavour aimed at regaining usurped union rights, which rights constitute part of the people's overall rights usurped by the dictator or the despot. In the post-revolutionary era, however, union activity is purely a specialized type of work, within its own sector, which aims at the correct exercise of rights within the framework of the general plans and policies of the Revolution along the path of national and pan-Arab construction and struggle.

On such a basis, the Ba'thists are the first to blame, and to be called to account, in the event of the existence of laxity *vis-à-vis* constructive work in the milieu of the union. We say this because the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party is the leader of both the community and the political authority in the country. Such a position places the Ba'thists under obligations and charges them with duties which make them, more than others, responsible for all the negative aspects of the community. Consequently, they find themselves obliged to search for the correct remedies. Ba'thists, each according to his responsibilities, must always be ready to lead the country and must also be in the front line when it comes to alertness and sacrifice. They

must always be ready to render advice and guidance to the community and they must also react favourably to the feelings of the people whom they lead.

Second in the line of responsibility are the political movements associated in the Front. A citizen is placed in a third position in the pyramid of responsibility. Thus, anyone who criticizes a certain negative aspect must be prepared to define the responsible quarter to all those concerned to remedy the situation.

While we bear responsibility from the position of leadership, we are addressing you not as rulers but as your brothers. We do not accept being called rulers, because a ruler differs from a leader in conception, in motives and in the relationship with the people. A ruler may attain power as a result of a temporary rise in the tide of affairs, or as a result of a particular circumstance, while leaders attain power through the people and through the sacrifices they [the leaders] make, the sincerity they have and the initiatives they come up with. Thus the birth of a leader is an epoch-making event which is closely allied to special conditions, special duties and work of a particular nature. The birth of a leader, consequently, is not an artificial one like that of a ruler. Thus, people who endeavour to be in the position of leaders, and not rulers, are the ones who really care for the people and know the sources of its sufferings and endurance.

Leaders, moreover, accept true criticism and endeavour to win the satisfaction of the people they lead — not so that they can secure elections through parliamentary means, as is the practice in some countries, but for the sake of the principles through whose application justice, equality and happiness are achieved. A leader, in other words, should not seek to win the people in an insincere manner just for

the sake of achieving a certain aim during a particular phase or period. The act of winning over people to the side of a leader should be sincere and the leader himself should be armed with a deep-rooted sincerity in his way of thinking, in his belief and his work. Accordingly, you must avoid the tactics utilized by some politicians *vis-à-vis* the people — tactics that are employed only to achieve certain limited ends, such as election purposes or even illegal acts. You have seen such tactics employed during the monarchy when members of parliament only visited their constituencies at election times and never bothered to see to the needs of their constituents. Such politicians never believed in the people any more than they believed in its essential role in the building up of societies and states. To such politicians the people were no more than convenient tools for extortion and exploitation.

Let us give you yet another example from within the Party. Some Party members seek to win over new adherents to the Party through persuasion without bothering to ensure whether such adherents actually believe in and uphold the Party's principles. Naturally those who act thus seek quick advancement in the Party hierarchy. However, experience has proved that such people subsequently fall into the lower levels, or at least fall short of the levels to which they originally aspired. At the same time they are rejected by those same new adherents on whom they have spent a great deal of time and effort. You may well ask why. Winning people over to Party ranks does not come through persuasion but through conviction and a sincere belief in the truth, as defined by the central principles and common struggle. Nor does maintaining the loyalty of such a minority have any permanency if their admission into Party ranks was secured in such an unwholesome manner which,

far from being genuine, is only a temporary convenience for furthering personal interests. No matter how conditions are made suitable for the meeting of interests, divergence is an inevitable consequence at a later date. Therefore, serving the interests of the people must always remain the basis of our work; so must serving the interest of principles, which come second to securing the interests of the people. Love of Party and people would only be a corollary to such noble conduct. Higher Party positions subsequently come as a normal and possible consequence. Those who pretend loyalty in order to achieve illegal means through persuading adherents to join Party ranks are bound to be losers; they are bound to lose even those few adherents they have managed to persuade. On the other hand, those who excel in their work, including union work — as part of their general effort to serve the interests of the people, within the scope of the national movement and the process of constructing the new society — are considered to be sincere in the activities they undertake. They are the ones who, in fact, live in a constant state of rejuvenation and constructive work.

What Suits Men and Women!

It is not incorrect to say that a particular job is more suitable to man X and woman X than to man A and woman B, and that a certain job is more suitable to men than women, as long as what we say falls within the bounds of objective standards which are not tied to a backward view that tends to look down on women and relegates them to unworthy positions. We may ask ourselves whether it is more suitable for a woman to be drafted into the army than to devote herself to the service of the people through seeking employment with the various state organs for education. I do not

believe that a woman would answer this question in the affirmative, whether at present or for a considerable period to come. No woman would say that army service, especially active service, is more suited to her liking than teaching. Now let us ask ourselves again if such an answer leads us to adopt a backward view of this woman in particular or of women in general. Those who endeavour to use examples in support of arguments that aim to relegate women to backward positions are sure to find that such examples (irrespective of the importance they attach to them) lack strength and real meaning, to say nothing of their anachronistic nature which is totally inconsistent with the general view of the Revolution and the courses of its action.

However, we should at the same time avoid being hasty in pushing rights to their desired positions, as indeed in remedying this social ailment which has been bequeathed to us; haste is bound to lead us into error, notwithstanding the fact that our endeavour is considered, from the basic point of view, to be in support of principles. Thus we should avoid haste if we wish our endeavour to continue successfully and to be accepted by the people at the level of application.

The rights of both men and women should be balanced. The backward conception of the role and status of women should go for ever and we, ourselves, should forget the old view that relegates women to positions secondary to those of men.

This is the view we believe in, as people in this community and as holders of responsible positions in this country.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DECISION-MAKERS AND THE PEOPLE

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DECISION-MAKERS AND THE PEOPLE*

We hope that the Iraqi experiment in this respect will manage to make a worthy contribution to both the human and the national cultures. We really consider that the value of the progress of the Revolution in this country is not inherent in what it offers an Iraqi alone but also in what it offers humanity as a whole, including the Arab nation. Such a consideration is in fact divorced from any pretensions or arrogance, since what Iraq offers in this respect falls within the scope of understanding the conditions of the human reality of both people and Revolution in this country and its requirements — and within the course of understanding the duty of national struggle *vis-à-vis* our brothers in other Arab countries.

A number of our brothers talked about the significance of the political decision taken by the Leadership of the Party and the Revolution in connection with the eradication of illiteracy. We have a similar point of view in this respect, for in the absence of such a decision the issue of the eradication of illiteracy could not take the required extent and

* The text of the speech of Comrade Saddam Hussein, Deputy Chairman of the Revolution Command Council, delivered at the Baghdad Conference for the Compulsory Eradication of Illiteracy held in Baghdad from 8-15 April 1976.

orientation. However, we must say that the political decision on its own is not sufficient to ensure the success of such a campaign with all its economic, political and social implications. To ensure the success of this decision, confidence must prevail between the centre from which this decision has emanated and the people. This is a decisive factor, particularly if we appreciate the fact that the people are really the Party that has the primary role in effecting the process of change, particularly those sections of the people for whom the required change brings the greater benefit. Had this decision been taken in 1969, we would not have been as sure of its success as indeed we are sure now. In that year, the confidence of the people in the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party — the leader of this very march — was not as it is today. On account of our view of the importance of the prevalence of such confidence, as a major factor contributing to the success of the entire undertaking, we believe that a political decision of this nature and magnitude must be timed after two essential factors have been taken into careful consideration. These factors are as follows:

First — The position and direction of the social change required in this operation must be defined within the overall course of all the required changes — be that on the economic, political or social level — of the entire revolutionary operation in the country.

Second — The decision should point out clearly the aims of the required social changes, whether on the field level or on the levels of sectors, which must be tied up with the strategic aim, or aims, that have to be achieved within the greater process of Revolution currently in progress in this country.

Once all these factors have been joined together, the

decision taken would then be of value in the required process of change. We would then also be in a position to forecast the potent and positive results that are going to be achieved.

There is another point that has to be taken into consideration when taking the political decision to launch a social campaign of this nature: we must do away with any contradiction that may exist between the objective personal interests of individuals (or of the social sector whose social position must be advanced) and the general national and pan-Arab interest. This must be so tackled that consistency prevails in the end. Consistency is essential in this respect; if it cannot be made to cover all the details of the operation initially undertaken, it must at least be made to cover the results of this particular operation. Such courage, moreover, must be completed within a foreseeable future and not in the long run. You are undoubtedly aware of the fact that a number of political decisions that aim at achieving the objective self-interest of individuals, or of sections of the community, are strongly opposed by the very side that would benefit, on account of this side's initial inability to comprehend the values and the aims of such decisions. Such opposition in effect stems from a deficiency either in people's consciousness and awakening or in the technical, political, and psychological factors of the decision. This case is analogous to the one wherein a section of the women in a particular society oppose measures taken to emancipate them; and to that wherein certain workers oppose measures that were originally brought about for the general good of workers. The same opposition has been known to stem from peasants against co-operative measures or measures that aim to educate their children. Thus it is essential to have very close ties between the objective

self-interest and the overall national interest. This is particularly essential in achieving the required economic, political and social results that are precipitated by the process of change during the stage in question.

The forces of apostasy and imperialism in the whole world ensure the firm connection between the objective self-interest of a social medium, or sector, utilized for purposes connected with the apostasy, and the final results of the desired apostasy itself. This is an essential element in the plans of the forces of apostasy and imperialism. We cannot understand, therefore, the inability of revolutionaries — when attempting to solve the problems of the community — to appreciate and utilize the connection between the objective self-interest of the people (or of its social sections, particularly the revolutionary sections) and the orientations and movements of the revolutionary process. Unless such a connection is carefully made between the required self-interest in the decision and the overall course of national development, which is both understood and required from the whole revolutionary operation, then the decisions taken would allow room for the infiltration of the forces of apostasy; a part of the people would thereby become tools in the interests of apostasy.

Stemming from a conscious understanding of the whole issue, we must consider the question of the eradication of illiteracy not only as an educational matter but a political one too. Our Party, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, must avoid falling into the error of undertaking this measure single-handed, even in the existence of a full conviction to the effect that the Party is in fact capable of shouldering such a responsibility single-handed. The Party must limit itself to the rule of leader and director; it must provide

the opportunity to all the elements of the operative national movement in the country, and even to the people themselves, to participate. Only thus would the required enthusiasm achieve the results sought after. On such a basis, too, the democratic process is considered an essential factor in the movement for the eradication of illiteracy. We must also avoid the transgression of bureaucratic forms that may hinder the course of the movement of education. Such a transgression is bound to have adverse effects on the general policy of the literacy campaign and its organs. Otherwise, the entire undertaking becomes mechanical and half-hearted, thereby failing to achieve the socio-political aims, even if it succeeds in bringing about the direct aims in teaching illiterates how to read and write.

Finally, we must emphasize the need to give particular attention and weight to those illiterates who are young in age. Combating illiteracy among young people prepares a much wider ground for success, as it prepares a major part of our people for more conscious and successful work over a longer period of time.

رقم الايداع في المكتبة الوطنية ٧٢١ لسنة ١٩٨١
الطبعة الانكليزية

صدام حسين

الثورة والتربية الوطنية

ترجمة : نمير عباس مظفر

اصدار: دار المأمون للترجمة والنشر
بغداد - ١٩٨١